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Scandinavian Studies

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THE FAROESE BALLAD OF ELLINDUR BÓNDI Á JAÐRI

(AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE BALLAD TO ITS ORIGINAL FORM)

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University of Illinois

IN THE text herewith published I have aimed to offer what, in my opinion, was the original form of this very popular Faroese ballad. My text is based on a study of verified copies of all the versions and of the later gathered variants of the versions. The investigation was originally undertaken many years ago, upon the invitation of Professor Axel Olrik of the University of Copenhagen, and the verified copies of the versions and of the variants were furnished me by him, with the assurance of their absolute correctness. In the great eighteen-volume hand-written collection of Faroese ballads by Svend Grundtvig and Jørgen Bloch the ballad of "Ellindur bóndi" appears as no. 45 in Volume IV.

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There are four versions, designated as *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. Version *A* is found in a manuscript by Jens Christian Svabo (1746–1824), bearing the title “Færøeske Kvæir eller Gamle Kjømpesange,” and gathered in the years 1781–1782. Version *B* is one written down by Jóan Klæmintsson in 1819.¹ *C* is that of Johan Henrik Schrøter (1771–1851), appearing in his collection of ballads gathered during the years when he was a pastor on the island of Súðuroy, 1804–1826. Finally, version *D* appears in a collection made by Hans Pauli Johan Patursson in 1837.

Of version *B* there are three additional copies: *a*, in P. Hentze's collection, *ca.* 1825; *b*, in the so-called “Sándoyarbók,” completed by J. Klæmintsson in 1931; and *c*, in a collection made by Jákup Nólsoy in 1832. Of *C* there are two additional copies: *a*, in “Schrøters Blandinger,” 16; and *b*, one from more recent times in a manuscript entitled “Optegnelse efter Niels Jakob Mikkelsen” written by Jakob Jakobsen during his stay in the Faroes in the summer of 1904, and apparently copied at Sumbø in southern Súðuroy.

The four versions differ considerably in their length, which would imply differences in details of the content. *A* has 37 stanzas, *B*, 56, *D*, 54, while *C* has 64. The difference is only in slight measure due to the variation in ballad technique as between *A* and the longer versions. The difference may rather be attributed partly to the loss in *A* of material which has been preserved in the other versions, and partly to the introduction of material from elsewhere in the longer versions. Versions *B* and, especially, *D* stand closer to *C* than to *A*.

All four versions are rounded out as regards the narrative, having a beginning, a middle, and a conclusion that fairly correspond. In *A* the action moves somewhat more swiftly; in the others the action is slowed in some cases by an effort toward a more complete characterization of persons, a fuller elaboration of certain situations, and more detail about the successive journeys in the ballad. Also, while even in *A* the principles of repetition and variation are well evidenced, there is more of this in the other versions; this is especially the case in *C*, where full-stanza

¹ The name has also been written “Johan Klemmentsen.”

repetition (except for the variation of the final word of the fourth line) is extensively practiced.

The events which form the subject matter of the ballad are briefly as follows: Ellindur bóndi, a rich yeoman of southwestern Norway, has for thirty years failed to pay the annual tax to King Olaf in Trondheim. The king decides at last to have the tax collected; and he sends a messenger to Ellindur to learn his reasons for withholding the tax and to demand the payment of the withheld taxes. The messenger takes the swiftest of the king's steeds and rides south to Jaðar.² He delivers the king's message; and Ellindur answers that he will go to Trondheim to meet the king that same fall. The messenger returns to Trondheim and reports to the king. Ellindur makes preparations for the journey and with his thirty sons sails for Trondheim, arriving there Christmas Eve. Ellindur's account of the use he has made of the withheld taxes leads to a reconciliation with the king. The Christmas feast and the wrestling matches, usually exhibited at Yule-tide, this time between two of Ellindur's sons, are then mentioned. Ellindur returns home; and the ballad closes with a very fine picture of Ellindur's heroic wife.

But in the account of these happenings in the ballad the versions show many differences. For example, in *A* and *D* nothing is said about the messenger's return journey and the report to the king. The decision to send a messenger to Ellindur is followed immediately in *A* by the departure of the messenger, and in the next stanza (8), by his entering Ellindur's hall and delivering his message, which in this version is that the king commands that Ellindur come to him in Trondheim. With this the messenger disappears from the scene in *A*. (In st. 9 Ellindur starts to get his ship ready for the voyage north.) Also in *D* the messenger disappears at this point. However, in *B* and *C* the messenger's assignment is a somewhat different one: he is to discover if, perhaps, Ellindur has not been able to pay his taxes. In this, *D* agrees with *B* and *C*; in *D* we observe that the mes-

² In modern Faroese *Jaðar* is pronounced *jæar*; the official form is *Jaðar*. The present local pronunciation of the name in Norway is *jær*, and also, in the definite form *jærn*; the official Norwegian form is *Jæderen*.

senger is careful to deliver the king's message in the king's very words ("goymdi væl á orði," *D* 9, line 2). Again, in version *D* Ellindur, upon arriving in Trondheim, prepares at once to go to the king's hall; this is also the case in *B*. In *A*, however, we are told that Ellindur first goes to the "Postala kyrkiu" (sts. 18–20), and, later, to the king's hall. Similarly in *Bb* and *C*, where also the touch "í hallina kom hann siðla" is added. Thus, the account in *A*, *Bb*, and *C* reflects the troubled state of Ellindur's mind as he goes to meet the king.

The Persons of the Ballad. In *B*, *C*, and *D* the king is always referred to as "signaður Ólavur kongur"; in version *A* he is referred to as "halgi Ólavur kongur." All versions agree in that a messenger is the intermediary. He is not named, but simply called "sendisvein" in *B*, *C*, and *D*, and "senduboð" in *A*.³ In *C* and *D* the king affectionately calls him "mín lítill svein." In *B*, *C*, and *D* the messenger rides a swift steed: "hann var fimur á fótunum ið tey boðini bar." But in *A* the messenger is a runner; "Sá var fimur á fótunum ið tey boðinni bar," we are told in st. 7. Thus, here it is the messenger that is "fleet of foot."

In all versions there is an archbishop. His name is "Jákub" in *B*, and "Sjúrður" in *D*. It is "Sjúrður" also in *C*; but in the *b* variant of *C* the name is "Turpin." "Turpin" is the name also in version *A*. "Turpin" is the archbishop's name in the ballad of "Ormar Tórolvsson," a ballad which also exhibits other features in common with the ballad of Ellindur bóndi.

The character of the archbishop as given in the ballad is none too good. In version *B* it is he who craftily suggests to the king to use force against Ellindur, and to act at once. The king has just spoken of the annual tax, which has remained unpaid so long; but the king is still inclined to be patient—perhaps Ellindur has not been able to pay the tax; and he says: "tað er íðum fyrri mær greint, at törvin hyður mangt." Then the archbishop says: "Hvat skulu vit við skipum fara ella yvir land? . . . vil hann ikki skattin geva, vit taki hann við vold." But the king

³ The form of the two words varies. In *B* the word is "sendusvein," likewise usually in *D*, but "sendisvein" once; in *C*, it is "sendisvein." In *A* the word is "senduboð," which appears as "sendiboð" once in *B*.

ignores his words and sends for his messenger, and tells him that he is to carry a message to "Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri," at the same time saying to him: "fyrr royndi eg teg á öllum lutum, tú hevir verið mær trúgvur." Again, there are the archbishop's words in *B*, 27, words which are intended to arouse the king to stern action, now that Ellindur at last will soon be in his power. But the king again ignores him and turns to some of his men ("dreingir góðir"), ordering them to go down to the harbor "gistunum heim at bjóða." Versions *C* and *D* have in the first scene the archbishop's words verbatim as in version *B* (the second scene is lacking in *C* and *D*; see below).

However, version *A* departs from *B*, *C*, and *D* in the wording of the conversation which immediately precedes the king's dispatching of his messenger. Here the king is made to declare: "Nógv er gjört til sakar; vær skulum fara á Jaðar eystur, bóndan af lívi taka," but the archbishop suggests, that, first, a letter be sent to Ellindur bóndi, and: "vil hann ikki koma, tá taki hann yvirvald." Thus, we are given a very different picture here of the king and of the archbishop than in the other versions. But this picture is clearly an alteration of the original. Version *A*, copied by Svabo, apparently on the island of Vágar in the north-westernmost part of the Faroes, would seem to represent a form of the ballad localized there.

Of Ellindur⁴ there is nothing that need be added here. The wife's name is "Halga" in version *B* ("Halga húsfreya," 50, "Halga húsfroya," 51); in version *C* it is "Helga" ("Helga húsfúrin," 57, 58, 59, and "Helga eitur húsfúrin," 65); in *D* both forms occur ("Halga húsfúra," 49, 50, 51, and "Helga eitur húsfúra," 54). In version *A* she is referred to as "húsfúrgvin," and not named.

Ellindur's Sons. The versions exhibit many differences in the identity of those of the sons that are named. However, Jógvan Jarnleggur appears in all the versions; and he is presented as an efficient, strong-willed person whenever he comes upon the scene.

⁴ In the Grundtvig-Bloch collection, Vol. IV, under no. 45, "Ellindur bóndi," is added a notation identifying Ellindur bóndi with "Erlingr Skjalgson í Ólafs saga helga."

When in Trondheim Ellindur enters the royal hall, where the king sits at table "við mann og hundrað fimm," and he stands waiting for a word from the king, but the king's greeting is not, in Jógvan's opinion, given as promptly as it should be, he is not afraid to speak up: "Hví lata tygur mín gamla faðir so leingi fyri borði standa?" This incident is found in three versions: *A*, 23; *B*, 34; and *C*, 41. Version *C* even adds an additional stanza, in which Jógvan is made to say to two of his brothers: "Vit hvessum várar eggjar." It is Jógvan that the father wishes to have at his right side as he leaves the ship and steps on land at Trondheim (versions *B*, *C*, and *D*).

The two other brothers that are named in all the versions are Tambarskeggi and Tostan. Next to Ellindur bóndi it is Tambarskeggi who occupies the most prominent place in the successive stages of the action. When Ellindur sails from Jaðar, it is Tambarskeggi who is seen in the commander's cabin on the voyage north. This is mentioned only in variant *Cb* (st. 31). When the ship, returning from Trondheim, is approaching the harbor at Ellindur's home in Jaðar, Helga, the wife, seeing the ship, exclaims: "Tað síggi eg á skipinum at deyður er Tambarskeggi"—she did not see Tambarskeggi in the commander's place on the ship. These lines are from version *A* and the Sandoyarbók variant of *B*; in *C* her words are: "Tað síggi eg á hesari ferð, at deyður er Tambarskeggi," while in *D* Helga says: "Hattá er ikki Tambarskeggi á lyptingini situr." In version *A* Tambarskeggi has even replaced Jógvan Jarnleggur at Ellindur bóndi's right side as he disembarks at Trondheim; the two lines in question there read: "Albrynjaður Tambarskeggi undir hans høggu hand" (st. 17).

It is Tambarskeggi and Tostan ungi to whom the ballad accords the distinction of possessing the greatest accomplishments in physical prowess; and at the festivities in the palace on Christmas Eve Tambarskeggi and Tostan are among the fifteen warriors that the king honors by selecting them to remain with him at his court in Trondheim.

The name Tambarskeggi always appears in this form in versions *A*, *C*, and *D*, and also in *B*, 43, 44, and in *Bb*. But in version

B, 50, 51, and also in its Nólsoy variant, st. 55, the form of the name is "Tambarskelvar." For our ballad the correct form is, of course, "Tambarskeggi." The form "Tambarskelvar" in *B*, 50 and 51, has no doubt crept in from the ballad of "Ormar Tórólsson," in which Ormar wrestles with "Einar Tambarskelvi." That these two ballads, with their wrestling match in the presence of the king, and also with other somewhat similar situations, in common, should come to show confusion on the part of the singers of the ballads in regard to the names of the participants in the action in question is understandable. In the Tórólsson ballad it is "Einar Tambarskelvi" that is the correct form, as it appears in sts. 33 and 35 of version *A* of that ballad; but in the *B* version of that ballad the name is "Einar Tambarskeggi," a form taken from the ballad of Ellindur bóndi.⁵

In the ballad of "Ormar Tórólsson" the hero is sometimes called "Ormar sterki" and "Ormar ungi." Also in the ballad "Brusajökils kvæði" Omar Tórólsson is the hero; he is there always called either "Ormar sterki" or just "Ormar." It is from these two ballads that most of the borrowed names in the ballad of Ellindur bóndi have come.

There is first the name "Ormar sterki," which appears in st. 43 of version *B* of our ballad, where the two wrestlers are named "Ormar sterki og Tambarskeggi," while in st. 44 the king calls them "Ormar ungi og Tambarskeggi." Variant *Bb* has "Ormar ungi og Tambarskeggi" in both cases. Again in version *D*, st. 42, the two wrestlers are called "Einar ungi og Tambarskeggi"; but in the next stanza the correct names appear when the king says: "Tostan ungi og Tambarskeggi haldi eg vera jamnar"; so also correctly in *C*, 50 and 51. There is one more borrowed name: "Tostan Oxamegin" in version *A*, 31. This is "Oxamegin," the hero of the ballad "Tröllini í Hornalondum."⁶

In many cases in the four versions, an episode, an elaboration

⁵ The ballad of "Ormar Tórólsson" retains the correct form of the name of the historical Einar Tambarskelvir.

⁶ Of course there may also be borrowings in the other direction, elements in other Faroese ballads that have been taken from the ballad of Ellindur bóndi, but we are not here concerned with that.

of a situation, or elements in a description occur of a kind that cannot be regarded as genuine parts of the original ballad. Such an episode is found in version *D*, sts. 22-26. It appears in the account of the arrival of Ellindur's ship in Trondheim. The scene of the king and the archbishop at the window is found in versions *A* and *B*; also in *D* we find the king at the window, but the archbishop is not there. Instead, we have a shepherd, to whom are devoted no less than five stanzas in the scene. They tell how he, while grazing the sheep and the goats on the heath, observed a ship approaching which was apparently searching for the harbor. He thereupon takes his flock down onto the meadow and goes to the king's hall and enters. There he boasts of his discovery: "Eg eri mæR á einum luti vísari enn tær eruð öll; eg síggi skip eftir havi koma, seglini hvít sum mjöll"; and then to the king: "Særtú skip eftir havi koma, higar stevna á: tað mann vera Ellindur bóndi, kemur at vitja vár." This whole scene has been carried over from the ballad "Risin af Leittrabergi," sts. 22-26, but with change of name in the last stanza.

In version *C* the messenger, returning from Jaðar, meets the king in the court-yard and makes his report to him there. This stanza (28), with a minor change, has gotten in here from the ballad "Jómsvikingar," st. 24.

In version *D*, differing from *A* and *B*, Ellindur welcomes the messenger when the latter enters his hall: "Ver vælkominn sendusvein higar nú til mín; drekk nú hvat tær betri líkar mjöðin ella vín." But the messenger refuses in the following words: "Lítið er mæR um mjöðin tín, hálva minni um vín; onnur havi eg örindini higar nú til tín." The two sts., 12-13, are clearly spurious; and it is readily seen how, when they had been introduced here, other changes came to be made in the form and order of the original stanzas.

I cannot here take the space to discuss this, I shall merely point out that the two stanzas are found in several other Faroese ballads, but in ours they are borrowed from the ballad of "Arngríms synir." In this ballad the two stanzas fall naturally into the situation of the ballad; when Hervik, Arngrím's daughter, enters the hall of Örvarodd, her father's murderer, Örvarodd's

invitation and Hervik's answer follow in words that are retained verbatim in "Ellindur bóndi," except for the change of "Hervik" to "sendusvein" in st. 12, and except that the line "alvæl minni um vín" in Hervik's answer becomes "hálva minni um vín" in our ballad.

It is not my intention here to discuss the variant readings of stanzas, the reasons for the retention of stanzas or parts of stanzas as genuine, or the reasons for the rejection of others as spurious; to do so would require much discussion and quoting from the different versions, and I cannot take the space for that. However, I wish to speak briefly of some rather unusual differences in the text of a few of the introductory stanzas. The stanzas are: *A*, 1-3; *B*, 2-5; *C*, 2, 3, 6, and 7, and *D*, 2 and 3. Here *B*, 3, reads:

Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri østur,
tað munnu flest öll sanna;
væl er hann til barna borin,
tríati eigir hann manna.

And *C*, 2, reads:

Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur
hann er af konga-stamma;
væl er hann til barna borin,
tríati eigir hann manna.

Here line 4 of *B* and lines 2 and 4 of *C* are certainly corrupt. We can at once eliminate the word "manna" and substitute "synir," and we shall have the correct line 4. Line 2 of *C*, 2, is spurious; as a variation of line 2 of *C*, 1 ("komin af kongakyni") it is clumsy and irregular; also the rhyme word "kongastamma," a loan word from Danish, must have been introduced into the language long after the ballad originated. Version *A*, st. 1, may now be added:

Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur,
flest öll mann hann muna:
hann var so væl til barna komin,
tríati átti hann synir.

Here the order of words in line 2 is undoubtedly correct, and it is supported by the order in *Cb*. By changing "mann" to "munnu" (hence as in *B* and *Cb*) we shall have a line that might perfectly well be that of the original.

My transcription of *A* has in the margin opposite line 2 here, and enclosed in quotation marks; the notation: "(?) munna hann munna," presumably by Grundtvig or Bloch. The notation would seem to suggest that the present sg. "mann" may be a change from "munna," to avoid the two identically formed verbs. It is possible, but hardly likely, that "muna" is the original verb at the end of line 2. If "muna" "to remember" be the verb, we naturally should expect the verbs of the next two verses to be in the past tense. But the other versions all say: "væl er hann," etc., and "tríati eigr," etc.; on the other hand, as seen above, *A* has the past tense here, as also in the next stanza, and in general there is a tendency in *A* toward the use of the past tense. I think that the rhyme word here was originally "sanna" "know as true, verify." This gives us the assonance: "sanna": "synir," with line 2 as in *Cb*, line 3 as in *B*, *C*, and *D*, and line 4 as in *D*; the order of the two stanzas remains as in *C*.

The second group of stanzas referred to above is: *A*, 3-4; *B*, 4-7; *C*, 4-7, and *D*, 3-4. The question here is chiefly that of the correct place of the stanzas beginning with the verb "skortar" in *B*, and with the verb "skattar" in *C*. Here I retain almost verbatim the two stanzas (4-5) of *B*, and in the same order as in *B*; also their position in the proper sequence of stanzas at this point is certainly as in *B*. But in *C* the king is introduced in stanza 4, and the king's speech begins here in line 3. These two stanzas appear in *B* as numbers 6-7, and they are immediately followed by the Archbishop's answer (sts. 8-9). Now, in *C* the king's speech is not indicated (by the usual quotation marks) as complete at the end of line 5. Hence, the two following stanzas ("skattar," etc.), it would appear, are assumed also to be part of the king's speech. However, the quotation marks are not found here—it may be that Schrøter's neglect to write the quotation marks at the end of the king's speech (either in line 5 or line 7) was due to the fact that he was uncertain as to where the

speech ended, and so left it unmarked. The two stanzas certainly belong where *B* has them and are a part of the facts related about Ellindur. We expect the king to say just what he says in *B* and nothing more. However, the king considers it possible that Ellindur's failure to pay his taxes is due to the fact that he has not had the means to do so (the two lines are as in st. 7, p. 177 below). And the slight difference in the wording of line 5 in *C*, 5 ("at ævin bíðar mangt") does not alter that fact. And yet in the very next stanza, as the stanzas come in *C*, it is seen that the king knows that Ellindur is a wealthy man!

In sts. 4 and 5 of version *B* the verb is "skortar" "lacks"; in *A* the verb is "kortar," which also means "lacks." In *C* and *D* the verb is "skattar" "pays taxes." But the variant *Cb* has the line "Hvörki kortar hann skróðir ei lín" (hence the verb as in *A*, and the words "ei lín" as in *A* and *B*). I think, nevertheless, that the words "skróð ella lín," as in *C* and *D*, represent the original. "Skortar" is certainly the original verb. We thus arrive at a form of the two stanzas on p. 176 below, sts. 4-5. Stanzas 5 in *B* and 6 in *C* are alike, except for the words "skróður, ei lín" in *B* 5, line 1, and an error in line 2 of *C*.⁷

My text is based more on version *B* than on version *C*; but I have found in versions *A* and *C*, and in variants of *B* and *C*, readings that support the choices that I have made, and in several cases I have used elements in *A* and *D* as probably original.

⁷ The corresponding stanzas in the other versions are:

- A. Kortar hann hvörki skróð ei lín,
so tað skarlakin ný;
tríati ár hann skattin helt
fyri kongi á Bernar bý. (*Sic*)
- C. Hvörki skattar hann skróð ella lín
og ei tað silvurið mjúka;
tríati hefur hann skattir hildið,
kongi burði at lúka.
- D. Hvörki skattar hann skróð ella lín,
skattin til at rinda;
tríati hefur hann skattar hildið,
kongi burði at senda.

In quotations in my discussion I have retained the spelling of the verses quoted, including the use of *ö* and *þ*; and in the text below I have employed the spelling as in *B* in some cases where there is a difference between *B* and the other versions. However I have thought it best, except in the case of "Postala kyrkja," to write compound words and names as single words, hence, "erkibispur," "Tambarskeggi," etc. The cpd. nouns are usually so written in the different versions, but also often with double hyphen, as "erka=bisp," "sendu=svein," etc., while cpd. names are sometimes hyphenated, e.g., "Postala-kyrkju," and "Tambar-skeggi." I am using the refrain of version *A*.

The text of the ballad follows.

ELLINDUR BÓNDI Á JAÐRI

1. Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur
komin af kongakyni;
væl er hann til barna borin,
tríati eigir hann synir.
Niðurlag: Nú siglir Ellindur at norði,
bliðir renna byrur millum borða;
nú siglir Ellindur at norði.
2. Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur,
—flest öll munnu sanna—;
væl er hann til barna borin,
tríati eigir hann synir.
3. Tríati eigir hann synir sær,
annað slíkt eru dýtur;
tríati ár hann skattin helt
og kom sær sjálvum í bótur.
4. Skortar hvörki skróð ella lín,
og ei tað silvurið brenda;
tríati hefur hann skattir hildið,
kongi burði at senda.
5. Skortar hvörki skróð ella lín,
og ei tað silki mjúka;
tríati hefur hann skattir hildið,
kongi burði at lúka.

6. Tað var signaður Ólavur kongur,
talar við sínar dreingir:
"Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur
heldur mín skatt so leingi.
7. Ellindur bóndi á Jaðri eystur
gefur mær ongan skatt;
tað er íðum fyri mær greint
at törvin býður mangt."
8. Svaraði Sjúrður erkibispur,
—gull ber sær á hond—:
"Hvat skulu vit við skipum fara
ella yvir land?
9. Hvat skulu vit við skipum fara
ella yvir land?
vil hann ikki skattin geva
vit taka hann við vald."
10. Svaraði signaður Ólavur kongur,
kátur við mikla list:
"Eg skal senda mín líttil svein
at bera honum boðini fyrst."
11. Kongurin krevur sín sendusvein,
klæðir hann væl í sknúðir;
"Eg havi teg á øllum reynt,
tú hevur verit mær trúgvur."
12. Hvörki fekk tað sendusvein
dag ella nætur ró,
fyr enn hann kom á Jaðar eystur,
sum Ellindur bóndi bjó.
13. Út í miðjum grasagarði
axlar hann sítt skinn,
og so búgvín gongur hann
í høggar hallir inn.
14. Og so búgvín gongur hann
í høggar hallir inn,
sum Ellindur bóndi á borði sat
við tríati synir sín.

15. Sveinin so til orða tekur
við alskyns makt og meingi:
"Hvat viltú, bóndi, svara mær til,
hefur hildið tann skatt so leingi?"
16. Tí svaraði Ellindur bóndi
af so góðum treysti:
"Eg skal finna mín velduga harra
á hesum sama heysti."
17. Aftur loypur sendusvein
á sín góða hest;
so reið hann til Trándheim norður,
sum fótur bera best.
18. Hvörki fékk tann sendusvein
dag ella nætur ró,
fyrr enn hann kom í Trándheim norður,
sum Ólavur drakk bjór.
19. "Ver vælkomín, sendusvein,
aftur nú til mín;
hvörsu tók hann Ellindur bóndi
við orð og boðum tín?"
20. "Tað svaraði Ellindur bóndi
af so góðum treysti:
hann skuldi finna sin velduga harra
á hesum sama heysti."
21. Ellindur letur snekkja smíða
við alskyns mekt og prýði;
hann hevði ongan á skip við sær
uttan tríati synir sínar.
22. Vant hann upp síni silkisegl,
mangt kom honum í sinn;
tá var honum sorg í huga,
hann sigldi í ríkið inn.
23. Tað var signaður Ólavur kongur
út um vindeygað sá:
"Hvaðan er henda gylta skeið,
higar stevnir á?"

24. Svaraði Sjúrður erkibispur,
—honum stóð so nær—:
“Hatta man vera tann skattakongur,
kemur at vitja vár.”
25. Tí svaraði Ólavur kongur,
talar við dreingir góðar:
“Þit skuluð fara til strandar oman
gistunum heim at bjóða.”
26. Læt hann síni akker falla
á so hvítan sand;
fyrstur steig hann Ellindur bóndi
sínnum fótum á land.
27. Fyrstur steig hann Ellindur bóndi
sínnum fótum á land,
og hann Jógvan Jarnleggur
undir hans høggu hand.
28. Ellindur gongur fra strondum niðan,
reikar um so víða;
reikar hann tá um Postala kyrkju,
í hallina kom hann síðla.
29. Út í miðjum grasagarði
axlar hann sítt skinn,
og so búgvín gongur hann
í høggar hallir inn.
30. Og so búgvín gongur hann
í høggar hallir inn,
sum Ólavur kongur á borði sat
við monnum hundrað fimm.
31. Svaraði Jógvan Jarnleggur,
—nú eykst meiri vandi—:
“Latið ikki mín gamla faðir
so leingi fyri borði standa!”
32. Kongurinn so til orða tók
við alskyns mekt og mengi:
“Hvat viltú, bóndi, svara mær til,
tú heldur mín skatt so leingi?”

33. "Eg havi tær við skatti alið
tríati synir baldar;
góðsið títt og lívið mítt
tað stendur til tygur at valda.
34. Eg havi tær við skatti alið
tríati synir giftar;
góðsið títt og lívið mítt
tað stendur til tygur at skifta."
35. Svaraði signaður Ólavur kongur,
hann hevði ikki fleiri orð:
"Ver vælkomín, mín veldugi bóndi,
stíg yvir breiða borð."
36. Kongurin talar til skeinkarin,
alt fyruttan ekka:
"Skonk teim vín í vegligt horn,
lat teir sita og drekka!"
37. Tað var reystur Ellindur bóndi
varð glaður við tað orð;
hann skeyt fyrri seg riddaraskildri,
hann steig yvir kongins borð.
38. Kongurin so til orða tekur,
við alskyns mekt og prýði:
"Hvat skulu vit til skemtan hava,
hesi jólini líða?"
39. Hvat skulu vit til skemtan hava,
bóndi, af sonum tínum?
hvat skulu vit við knútum kasta,
ella javnir glímast?"
40. Svaraði Sjúrdur erkibispur,
fell so væl í tíma:
"Tað er síður í várum landi
at standa jólaglímur."
41. Tostan ungi og Tambarskeggi
sprungu upp á gólv;
tað er mær af sonnum sagt
at hvør stóð syftur tólv.

42. Tað var signaður Ólavur kongur
heldur sær á gamni:
"Tostan ungi og Tambarskeggi,
tykkist mær, eru jafnir."
43. "Helvtin hon skal eftir vera,
bóndi, af synum tínum;
helvtin skal fara á Jaðar eystur
at gleða móður sína.
44. Helvtin, bóndi, af tygara synum
teir taki eg til mín;
helvtin skal fara á Jaðar eystur
at gleða móður sína."
45. Ellindur klæðist árla morgun,
gekk honum væl í hand;
tað var sjálvur Ólavur kongur
fylgdi honum til strand.
46. Vant hann upp síni silkisegl,
lætnaði sorg og sút;
tá var honum gleði í hug,
hann sigldi af ríkið út.
47. Vant hann upp síni silkisegl,
tá var byrur bestur;
strykaði ei á bunkan niður
fyr enn við Jaðar eystur.
48. Út kom Helga húsfroya
gevur fullgott treyst:
"Hetta er ikki knörrin tann
íð hiðan fór í heyst."
49. Út kom Helga húsfreya,
bæði vón og vitur:
"Hetta er ikki Tambarskeggi
í lyftingini situr."
50. Klæðir hon sínar moygjarnar
við svörð og brynju síða:
"Ðit skuluð fara til strandar oman
mót Ólav kongi at stríða."

51. Klæðir hon sínar moygjarnar
við svörð og brynju reyða:
Þit skuluð fara til strandar oman,
tí Tambarskjeggi er deyður.”
52. Fyrstur stígur Ellindur bóndi
sínnum fótum á land,
og hann Jógvan Jarnleggur
undir hans høggu hand.
53. Tá var gleði á Jaðar eystur,
geislin tók at brenna;
tá rann teimum gleði í hug,
hvört ræð annað at kenna.
54. Helga eitur húsfreyan,
ið móðir er at öllum:
eyðkendir eru garparnir
har ið teir standa á völli.

STRINDBERG'S 'NATURALISTISKA SORGESPEL' AND ZOLA'S NATURALISM

VI. 'FRÖKEN JULIE': CONCLUSION

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IN THE preceding papers of this series, I have made an analysis of Strindberg's *Fröken Julie* in terms of subject matter, sources, dramatis personae, situation, plot, theme, language, and setting. In each instance, I have tried to define the relationship between Zola's naturalism and Strindberg's *Fröken Julie*, a play often referred to as naturalistic. My object, as I stated earlier, "is not to determine whether or not the drama may be called naturalistic. . . . I simply desire to examine the drama in the light of Zola's naturalism."¹ Furthermore, my study does not purport to be a criticism of the play such that one may finally arrive at aesthetic judgment. Indeed, I am not even concerned with *Fröken Julie* as "good theatre" or otherwise. I wish to settle for myself, and if possible for others, the vexing problem of the relationship of Strindberg's so-called naturalism to that of Emile Zola.

An analysis of the play has now been made and is reasonably complete. Before passing judgment, however, I wish to set forth in brief compass the various aspects of this study.

First of all, we shall bear in mind that Zola's view of nature is monistic. There is but one world, the known phenomena of which can be apprehended by the senses and thus can be analyzed scientifically. The admission that much is unknown is neither directly nor indirectly an invitation to mysticism and supernaturalism; on the contrary, it is an invitation for all to engage in further scientific research. Thus, that which is unknown is of the same stuff as that which is known, even though the former may lie beyond our immediate grasp.

On first reading the Foreword to *Fröken Julie* we may be inclined to state that Strindberg is indeed a monist in his view of

¹ *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 (1943), p. 281.

nature. He boldly announces that "skulden har naturalisten utstrukt med Gud . . ."² And the slate seems to be wiped clean as regards mysticism and supernaturalism. On further examination, however, we observe a difference between Zola's approach to the matter of deity and Strindberg's. Zola writes in a relatively disinterested manner, but Strindberg is passionate about eliminating the deity. Note Zola's following statements regarding the naturalist's search for truth:

On étudie la nature et l'homme, on classe les documents, on avance pas à pas, en employant la méthode expérimentale et analytique; mais on se garde bien de conclure, parce que l'enquête continue et que nul encore ne peut se flatter de connaître le dernier mot. On ne nie pas Dieu, on tâche de remonter à lui, en reprenant l'analyse du monde. S'il est au bout, nous le verrons bien, la science nous le dira. Pour le moment, nous le mettons à part, nous ne voulons pas d'un élément surnaturel, d'un axiome extra-humain qui nous troublerait dans nos observations exactes.³

In these sentences Zola is very close to certain recently expressed views of naturalism and religion. The following is a good illustration of the fact that Zola's views are not peculiar to him or to his times.

Though God may exist, the arguments are all weak and evidence is lacking. Naturalism does not stand or fall with rejection of the arguments for the existence of God; indeed, its general theses would remain intact if God were discovered to exist, just as they remain intact when any other existence is discovered. But naturalism does not stand or fall with its acceptance of a strictly empirical method and its refusal to believe a matter of great moment when no evidence can be found. Naturalism is certainly no more concerned to disprove the existence of God than to disprove the existence of another planet in the solar system.⁴

Strindberg's elimination of the deity thus offers no evidence of naturalism.

We cannot, indeed, be certain that Strindberg was a monist at the time that he was writing *Fröken Julie*, for in the play we find signs of the later Strindberg who believed in supernatural

² *Samlade skrifter*, Vol. XXIII, p. 105. (Hereinafter the *Samlade skrifter* will be referred to solely by Roman numerals indicating volume number.)

³ *Le roman expérimental* (Paris, 1890), p. 83. Cf. also *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 402-403; *Une campagne: 1880-1881* (Paris, 1913), p. 132.

⁴ Sterling P. Lamprecht, "Naturalism and Religion," in *Naturalism and the Human Spirit*, edited by Yervant H. Krikorian (New York, 1944), p. 36.

manifestations. When, for example, the dialogue refers to Julie's fall, the girl cries out: "Vilken förfärlig makt drog mig till er? Den svages till den starke? Den fallandes till den stigandes!"⁶ Moreover, we also remember Strindberg's remarks in the Foreword anent the motivating forces employed in the drama, especially "fästmannens suggestioner på den svaga degenererade hjärnan . . ."⁶

Not only are there no positive signs of Strindberg's orientation in the monistic philosophy of naturalism, but, more distressing, there are indications that Strindberg himself did not grasp the implications of this school of thought. He passionately eliminated the deity; he employed situational forces taken at random rather than carefully analyzed ones; he even selected a rare case on the basis that the exception proves the rule.⁷ He may have convinced himself that he was a monist contributing to literary naturalism, and we know that others took him at his word when he said that he was writing a naturalistic drama. Most certainly, however, he is not on Zola's plane of monism.

As regards subject matter, Zola pointed to all nature and all man. Any phase, any fragment would serve. Specifically, the subject transmuted into a content-in-art form should reveal the contemporary scene and should be susceptible of scientific control. In other words, the writer should exploit material that the scientist uses, he should present the subject in the impersonal manner of the scientist, and he should be as exact as the scientist. As a result, the material should be recognized by all careful observers as a product of accurate analysis.

In *Fröken Julie* Strindberg presents what he tells us is a story taken out of real life. He purportedly gives us a fragment of existence from the lives of Julie, Jean, and Kristin. His main concern is the presentation in dramatic form of the sex relations of a particular man and a particular woman, the latter descended from the nobility and the former a servant. Supposedly the subject has been taken from real life, and thus the requirement of contemporaneity seems to be satisfied.

On the surface it would appear that Strindberg has fulfilled

⁶ XXIII, p. 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Zola's specifications for subject matter. Actually, however, we doubt that Strindberg had objective data at hand as subject matter to work into dramatic form. He himself indicates that he has relied on hearsay. Moreover, in his correspondence he tells of arbitrary modifications of the story. We are brought to the opinion that if the subject matter of *Fröken Julie* was actually taken from life, Strindberg freely modified it for artistic purposes. There is no sign that he felt compelled to abide by the facts as he found them.

Our uneasiness about the subject matter of *Fröken Julie* increases after we make a study of *En dâres försvarstal*. The first part of the novel is unquestionably the chief source of the drama. Julie is much like Maria, and Jean is closely related to Axel. So too, the situations and plots of the novel and the play are so similar that we can hardly speak of accidental likeness, especially since the play was written not long after Strindberg had finished the novel. Moreover, even though *En dâres försvarstal* seems to be autobiographical, it can be accepted only as a distorted version of a fragment of Strindberg's life. Indeed, it is more than likely that we have in this work a good example of an expressionistic autobiographical novel. The source may have been Strindberg's actual life, but the material has been treated subjectively. As a result, there is so much distortion that we cannot take the novel at face value.

There is only one rational conclusion to be derived from a study of subject matter and sources: Strindberg did not give an objective report of life in *Fröken Julie*. If the content of the drama has been derived from the life of Strindberg or of anyone else, the author assuredly had no regard for accuracy. He clearly failed to exploit the kind of subject matter that Zola's naturalism requires.

There are three dramatis personae in the drama: the cook, Kristin; the servant, Jean; and the Count's daughter, Julie. In addition, there are the supernumerary figures of the ballet scene. If Strindberg has analyzed these dramatis personae socially and genetically, we should agree that he is presenting them in accordance with Zola's theory of naturalism. Moreover,

the figures should also be representative of contemporary life, people whom Strindberg knew in his milieu.

In discussing his novel *La curée*, Zola says, "... mon Maxime, c'est le produit d'une société épuisée, l'homme-femme, la chair inerte qui accepte les dernières infamies..."⁸ In the drama *Fröken Julie* Strindberg employs a female figure similarly qualified. Yet, while Zola shows his figure developing by virtue of a tainted heredity and an obviously subversive environment in the great city of Paris, Strindberg simply declares that Julie is a product of the military nobility, the stock of which is reportedly degenerating. The more we study Julie, the more we are inclined to accept Martin Lamm's opinion that she is "en diktad gestalt." Whether she appears to be a plausible figure or not may be of little importance in the light of further analysis. For example, how does Strindberg analyze Julie socially, physiologically, psychologically, and genetically? First of all, he confuses the social and the genetic. He would have us believe that Julie has a bad inheritance; but, in his ignorance or carelessness, Strindberg has the girl inherit that which is not passed on in protoplasm.⁹ Substantially Julie is presented without a hint of genetic qualification. On the other hand, that which Strindberg considers heredity is essentially social milieu. By virtue of the home environment Julie has been conditioned in her responses to the male. She was reared as a boy, and this training should have developed in her a man's attitude toward women as well as an understanding of the male. Her mother, however, deliberately indoctrinated her with a hatred for men, with the consequence that, as regards the sexes, Julie became a social anomaly.

Apropos of Julie's civil status we note that she lacks a surname, an omission that Zola would not have tolerated. Again, we know almost nothing about Julie's physical proportions, her dress, her complexion, and the like. This indefiniteness regarding the civil status is very convenient for the stage director, for it

⁸ *Correspondance: Les lettres et les arts* (Paris, 1908), pp. 84-85.

⁹ *Fröken Julie* was written in 1888. We cannot hold Strindberg responsible for knowledge of heredity beyond the information available in the eighties. He had, however, the same opportunities to inform himself that Zola had.

leaves him free to adapt the play to available materials and individual tastes. At the same time, this indefiniteness indicates a lack of naturalistic qualification.

Strindberg had a splendid opportunity to treat Julie from the psychological standpoint. He implies that *Fröken Julie* is "ett modernt psykologiskt drama." He also says that he has depicted his figures "mer vacklande, söndergångna, blandade av gammalt och nytt . . ." But he was so intent on damning Julie as a female and as the weak offspring of a degenerate nobility that he did not grasp the opportunity to reveal the woman as a frustrated creature, one in whom a war is waged between environmental conditioning and biological urge. It is true that Strindberg had no help in this matter from contemporary psychologists, but it is also true that he could have observed frustration in life; that is, he could have observed it, had he been studying an actual Julie and taking notes on her conduct. In fact, had he made such a study, he might well have fulfilled Zola's hope that literary men would make contributions that were scientific as well as artistic. The psychological qualification of Julie remains, however, incomplete and unsatisfactory.

All in all, Julie is a figure with inadequate social status and without hereditary marking. Although Strindberg may have thought that he was presenting Julie from the psychological point of view, he failed to understand the implications of the situation in which he placed her. Hence, he also failed to understand her condition. Lamm is undoubtedly right when he calls Julie an invented figure. The fact that she is modeled on Maria of *En dåres försvarstal* and Helène of *Mot betalning* is compelling evidence.

We know less about Jean than we do about Julie, for the servant makes it clear that there are no records of his family "annat än i polisen!" Strindberg employs the Darwinian concept of differentiation with regard to Jean's social ascendancy, but his application is without scientific basis. It is not the scientific guess that Zola recommended, but an arbitrary employment in social science of data pertaining to biological science. There is, in fact, no more scientific support for Jean as an example of differentiation than there is for him as an example of superiority

because of his masculinity. Darwin and Nietzsche are both employed according to Strindberg's artistic needs, not according to the scientific demands of biological data.

It is significant that Strindberg did not describe Jean as a creature taken from life, though doubtless he was willing to leave that impression with the audience. Actually Strindberg says in a letter that he disposed of the "stalldräng" of the original story and substituted Jean for him. Thus, if Julie is an invented figure, Jean is much more a product of Strindberg's creative imagination. His heredity is exclusively literary, for we recognize in him a modification of Axel, who, in turn, may be a literary distortion of Strindberg himself.

Jean is largely a dramatic figure created to play opposite Julie. Even as the "stalldräng" would not serve Strindberg's purpose, so an ordinary valet would not be suitable. The one to play opposite Julie must be able to speak French, must have traveled in foreign parts, must appear like a prince charming in dress clothes, and must have a way with women. Jean has all the necessary qualities, because Strindberg gives them to him.

Clearly Jean, like Julie, is an invented figure. He has been constructed artistically. He has not been analyzed in terms of social and biological characteristics.

The Count's cook, Kristin, is a subordinate figure, a foil for the two leading characters, Julie and Jean. She appears to be far less an abstraction than do the principals. Indeed, Martin Lamm finds that Kristin in certain respects "illustrerar en hel sida av svenskt folklynn." Yet, as a subordinate figure, Kristin is largely unanalyzed and hence is unsatisfactory. The same holds true for the supernumeraries of the ballet scene.

We may say, then, that Strindberg's presentation of *dramatis personae* is not in accord with Zola's naturalism. The principal figures are not analyzed in terms of biological and social characteristics. In addition, they are patently figments of Strindberg's mind.

The proper situational complex in Zola's naturalism is one in which the forces are exclusively biological and social, observed and studied objectively in the actions of specific men and women in specific milieux. In other words, the fundamental conflict or

situation should arise through collisions of interest among actual people in actual environments.

In reading Strindberg's Foreword to *Fröken Julie* one might readily come to the conclusion that here is one element treated in terms of Zola's naturalism. Indeed, Strindberg is proud of the motivation of his drama, and he painstakingly lists the various forces he has employed. Some of them seem to be biological and others social. Yet, as we study both the Foreword and the text of the drama, we realize that some of the forces must be qualified by the prefix "pseudo." There is only one genuine biological force in the list. Moreover, Strindberg confuses the genetic and the social, with the result that he employs the latter when he apparently thinks that he is exploiting the former. Even the psychological factors of the situational complex are a result either of conditioning in the home or of matters that seem more supersensory than sensory.

It is only in its most general form, unanalyzed, that the situational complex of *Fröken Julie* appears to be naturalistic; that is, when we regard the fundamental conflict as the battle of the sexes. Analyzed, the situation is not satisfactory for Zola's naturalism.

The plot—the pattern of action—is the result of the forces in the situational complex. As a consequence, that which applies to situation also applies to plot. Zola was rather insistent that the business of the novelist is to record what he sees in life. In fact, "le romancier n'est plus qu'un greffier,"¹⁰ and his task is to make an accurate record of what he observes. Of course, Zola was an artist and protested that he worked as an artist. In his own novels he showed that he himself was not just a "greffier." He employed artistic devices that he thought did not contravene the objective data that he used. Moreover, the action in the majority of his Rougon-Macquart novels is rounded out artistically.

Thus, the fact that Strindberg used some conventional artistic devices in constructing his plot should not be held as evidence that the play is not naturalistic. What we should object to is Strindberg's failure to adhere to the original story purportedly taken from life, and his failure to provide a develop-

¹⁰ *Le roman expérimental*, p. 125.

ment, crisis, and denouement determined by natural forces. As author, Strindberg virtually drove Julie into Jean's room, and he likewise drove her to commit suicide. He refused to permit Julie to go on living, with a job as a barmaid, that which he said took place in real life. In other words, it is the author himself who demonstrates to us that *Fröken Julie* has a plot which, even if originally constructed from a real-life action, has been vitally altered by the artist to fit his own notions. Julie cannot be allowed to live; she must commit suicide as befits the imagined honor of, we fear, a rather imaginary nobility. Manifestly the author makes the plot not the pattern of action that did take place but of the action that he thinks should have taken place.

Zola is explicit regarding themes, whether guiding ideas or moral lessons of any kind. There are to be none in a naturalistic work of art. Nature has its own lessons, and if the author records accurately and honestly what he sees, the reader should be able to find the lesson without special authorial assistance. In other words, the writer is to remain wholly impersonal.

Strindberg's arbitrary adaptation of Darwin's biological data to social phenomena did not bring about the desired results of illustrating a great natural law; the adaptation was made so that a Strindbergian conception of social phenomena could be illustrated. There was a far greater concern for an illusion of reality than with a representation that was an illusion derived from actuality. Strindberg wanted a drama that would hold the audience from curtain rise to curtain fall, and he worked on the drama until he was satisfied with it. This business about natural law is without genuine substance.

There is no theme in *Fröken Julie*. Negatively, this contributes evidence in the sense that the play could be naturalistic.

Zola plainly declared that naturalism is not the result of employing a particular vocabulary or of writing in a certain way. Sensationalism does not make a work naturalistic, and the language of the gutter is not *ipso facto* the language of the naturalistic writer. Obviously, for contemporary figures the language should conform to current usage. So too, it should be sufficiently representative that commonly understood dialects are employed. The language should be natural to the speaker; it should

be communicable, simple, forceful, frank, and clear to the reader or audience. Strindberg's *Fröken Julie* is then not to be qualified as a naturalistic drama simply because it includes words that generally were not heard in the polite Swedish society of the nineteenth century.

In the Foreword Strindberg sets up a contradiction as regards language elements. While he tells us that he is avoiding the carefully constructed dialogue, letting minds wander and the dialogue emerge as it supposedly does in actuality, he also declares that his dialogue develops somewhat like a theme in a musical composition. Manifestly, the dialogue cannot be aimless and at the same time develop according to a specific pattern; it is one or the other. And our judgment is that the dialogue of *Fröken Julie* is constructed according to a pattern that the author had in mind. In truth, the text of the play reveals that Strindberg has composed the dialogue so as to elicit desired responses from the dramatis personae.

We conclude, therefore, that the language of *Fröken Julie* is not satisfactory in an analysis of the drama as naturalistic literature. We know that the language is not natural to the speakers throughout the drama, for it is recognized that parts of the dialogue are far more reminiscent of Strindberg's way of speaking than indicative of the speech of the dramatis personae.¹¹ Again, the dialogue is deliberately arranged to suit the author's artistic needs.

To Zola the setting was of great importance, second only to dramatis personae, for it is such a powerful conditioning factor in the lives of men. In naturalistic literature the setting should be presented both in its physical and in its social phases. It is, of course, the immediate contemporary milieu which is to be portrayed; hence the historical and the foreign or exotic are not suitable. Patently, the institutional aspects of the social setting are of the greatest significance, and the naturalistic author will employ economic, political, domestic, educational, moral, religious, and communal phases according to the needs of the

¹¹ Cf. Martin Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer* (Stockholm, 1924), Vol. I, pp. 313, 320-322.

dramatis personae. Again, the author should use that which is representative, not that which is unique or even rare.

In the Foreword to *Fröken Julie* Strindberg places much stress on the stage setting, for that is what first greets the eye of the spectator. Strindberg desired to have everything on the stage as real as possible, and he made various suggestions, with the hope of realizing at least part of his aims. In the Foreword we are also told that the events of the drama actually took place several years before Strindberg wrote the play. This gives the suggestion of contemporaneity, but if we read the play itself we find little if anything that will support the statement. On the other hand, mention of railways and the date of publication of the play (1888) establish time limits that we should consider reasonable enough for contemporaneity.

The location of the estate is a mystery. Apart from the fact that it is assumed to be somewhere in Sweden, we are wholly lacking in details. The social setting is primarily that of Midsummer's Eve, as celebrated in nineteenth-century Sweden. This is a festive occasion which may be considered a suitable background for love or seduction. This part of the setting is inextricably fixed in our minds by virtue of the ballet scene with its dancing, singing, drinking, and gaiety. But what is more important, from the standpoint of Zola's naturalism, is the social milieu in which Julie and Jean have developed. In general, Julie is a member of the aristocracy; Jean, a servant. More particularly, Jean is a servant who has acquired some polish through his contacts with people of quality; Julie, on the other hand, has suffered social and psychological warping through the background of the immediate family. Strindberg pays scant attention to the various institutions of society, just enough to give the milieu an appearance of having been considered carefully, if not actually analyzed. Too much of the setting, however, is a product of Strindberg's imagination rather than of a careful study of social conditions. Even, then, Strindberg, in order to introduce details of the milieu, has to force Julie to babble about family matters to Jean.¹² There is, indeed, nothing in the setting that is suffi-

¹² XXIII, pp. 157-159. Cf. also Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

ciently compelling to persuade us that *Fröken Julie* is a naturalistic drama.

In conclusion, let us observe that whatsoever analysis is made of *Fröken Julie*—dramatis personae, subject, setting, or any other element—the result is always the same when we consider analysis in terms of Zola's naturalism. The literary sources (*En dâres försvarstal* and *Mot betalning*) appear too frequently and too strongly to permit us to accept Strindberg's statement that the events of *Fröken Julie* were taken from an actual occurrence related to him some years earlier. Strindberg himself reveals that he has manipulated materials to such an extent that the drama becomes a product of the imagination rather than a work of art based on records of actual life. Indeed, from whatever coign of vantage one surveys this drama, he finds that the relations with Zola's naturalism are superficial. There is no clear-cut analysis of life, no presentation of milieu that can be identified as representative of the contemporary scene, no competent employment of biological and social data.

The burden of proof remains on those who insist that *Fröken Julie* is a good example of the naturalism set forth by Emile Zola. If they are still convinced that they have not erred in judgment, they should make a competent analysis of Zola's naturalism and give us evidence that *Fröken Julie* fulfils the requirements.

QUINATUS, PORFILA, AND SIGURÐR

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IN GÖDEL'S catalogue of Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Library at Stockholm one finds mention of a *fornsaga suðr-landa* about an otherwise unknown King Quinatus and his daughter Porfila.¹ Through the courtesy of the Royal Library and the Curator of Manuscripts, the author some time ago procured a photostat of the fragment in the interest of editing it. A cursory glance at the photostat sufficed to explain why the saga never has been and never will be edited: it is in such wretched condition that scarcely a single line of text can be made out entire. Only long examination—aided by surmise—forced the stubborn MS to yield details adequate to an orderly sequence of narration. The features thus obtained, however, are sufficiently lucid to warrant treatment, and as the fragment is not elsewhere discussed, the following pages will be devoted to a brief account and analysis of its contents.² *Quinatus saga ok Porfilu*, as Mogk labels it, tells the following story³:

¹ Vilhelm Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. Bibliotekets fornisländska och fornorska handskrifter* (Kongl. Bibliotekets handlingar, 20. Årsberättelse för år 1897. *Katalog* . . . II [Stockholm, 1897]). The entry begins on p. 114 with No. 56: "Perg. 8:0 nr 10. *Kartong med ryggtitel*: 'Fragmenta varia islandica membranacea. In 8: 0.'" The contents are then listed under 9 headings, of which we are concerned with No. III (p. 115): "F.d. 'Tillägg nr 7: llb.' 19,5×12,5 cm. 2 blad. Från omkring 1500. Ur en '*Fornsaga Suðrlanda*' om en konung Quinatus och hans dotter Porfila. Har liksom II utgjort omslag till papp. 8:0 nr 23." This last comment explains the sorry shape of the MS.

² The story reproduced below has been patched together from the first of the two leaves, the second being illegible almost in its entirety. The MS is apparently a palimpsest. The original suggestion to examine this saga I owe to Professor C. N. Gould.

³ For a description of the *genre*, see especially the introduction to G. Cederschiöld (ed.), *Fornsögur Suðrlanda* (Lund, 1872). Cf. further the discussion of the *lygisögur* in F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldisländske Litteraturs Historie*, Vol. III (2d ed.: København, 1924) pp. 61 f., 68-120; E. Mogk, *Geschichte der norwegisch-isländischen Literatur* (*Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, ed. H. Paul [Strassburg, 1904]), pp. 555, 922, cf. pp. 857 ff. and 879 ff.; E. Kölbing, *Riddarasögur* (Strassburg, 1872), Introduction; Kölbing, *Beiträge zur*

A powerful king, Quinatus of Greece, has a daughter named Porfila who excels all maidens not only in beauty but in wit and learning. Her royal father is exceedingly fond of her. A young monarch named Sigurðr, the identity of whose country one is unable to learn, hears from afar of Porfila's beauty and fame. Inspired with instant love, he resolves to wed the princess. Accordingly, he commissions a certain duke of his court, whose name does not appear, to ask for Porfila's hand by proxy. Laden with gifts and accompanied by an impressive retinue, the duke embarks at the head of a great fleet. Favorable winds bring the expedition to Greece. Here the duke is well greeted by Quinatus, to whom, with much respectful circumlocution, he makes known his errand. He portrays Sigurðr as a prince of matchless virtue, worthy only of Porfila herself.

Declaring that the emissary shall be permitted to converse with the princess and deliver his message in person, Quinatus sends for her. Porfila enters the hall with an elaborate train of courtiers, receives the duke pleasantly and is placed in the high seat next to him. The noble messenger then sets forth his errand and formally sues on behalf of King Sigurðr for Porfila's hand in marriage. He adds that she will receive gifts of extraordinary value if she thus consents to becoming a queen. Addressing Porfila at this juncture, King Quinatus remarks that he wishes there were "another way to choose"; however, though he himself has "intended at all odds to choose a husband" for his "beloved daughter," he nevertheless recognizes in her such powers of discrimination that she may safely be entrusted with the decision.

Porfila's answer to the suit is a ready affirmative. She is forthwith affianced to King Sigurðr, and a date is agreed upon for the nuptials. Leaving farewell gifts, the duke takes his leave and sails home. The young king is delighted with the results of the wooing expedition. At the appointed time he and all his courtiers set out; they meet with favorable winds and in due course arrive in Greece, where Quinatus receives them with pomp and splendor. Oaths of friendship are sworn. The foreign guests are then bidden to a banquet in the castle, where the two rulers and the dukes, jarls, and other notables of both kingdoms are seated in the banquet hall according to rank. The description contains an unclear reference to a noble maiden named Florida, together with her mother, who seemingly are placed somewhere to the left of Quinatus at the table.⁴

A noble feast now follows, abounding in "the most costly beverages with royal delicacies and elaborate courses." The description goes on to include stately

vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters (Breslau, 1876), pp. 92 ff.; Åke Lagerholm (ed.), *Drei Lygisögur* (Halle, 1927); M. Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland* (Princeton, 1934). Numerous references to the fictional sagas are found in H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1921). Mention of the fragmentary *Quinatus saga ok Porfilu* is found in Mogk, *op. cit.*, pp. 884 f. Saga types and classifications are pertinently discussed by A. L. Andrews, "The Lygisögur," *PSASS*, Vol. IV (1916), pp. 255-263.

⁴ It may be remarked that references to mothers are rare in the *Lygisögur*.

raiment, presumably that worn by the guests. At this point the impatient Sigurðr respectfully expresses an urgent desire to be introduced to the object of his affections! Quinatus obligingly sends for his daughter, who enters the hall clad as befits a princess and attended by a suitable retinue. She greets Quinatus and graciously receives her betrothed, after which she joins in the festivities. The balance of the text, though chiefly illegible, allows of the conjecture that the wedding—conceivably a double wedding in which Florida and the emissary-duke enter upon the married estate—takes place as anticipated. Familiarity with the *genre*, however, prompts the assumption that the saga will not allow a hero named Sigurðr meekly to settle down as husband and father until he has performed a host of exploits, such as slaying trolls and berserks, rescuing damsels in distress, and dealing in one way or another with witches, dwarfs, and various categories of magic objects.⁵

The story is a sample of the standard type of narrative known as Winning the Bride.⁶ The wooing by proxy is a stock feature of such stories. The theme of the daughter's being permitted to accept or reject a suitor is not uncommon in the family sagas of an earlier date and is, furthermore, a feature easily transmitted.⁷ One notes Porfila's slowness in welcoming her spouse-to-be, in contrast to her original alacrity in accepting the suit. This feature quite possibly reflects influence from the motif of the Taming of the Shrew, a feature commonly found in the

⁵ See in particular Schlauch, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff. Partial discussions of magic in the *lygisögur* occur in Schlauch, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-148; O. Jiriczek, "Zur mittelländischen Volkskunde," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXVI (1894), pp. 1-25; H. J. Eggers, *Die magischen Gegenstände der altisländischen Prosa-literatur* (Leipzig, 1932).

⁶ F. Jónsson gives the lay reader a succinct account of this literary species in *Island fra Sagatid til Nutid* (København, 1930), where he characterizes these stories (pp. 60-61) as "sagaer med de æventyrligste indhold, hvor dog elskoven altid er et hovedmotiv. Det er den, der driver heltene (kongesønner) til at foretage de farefuldeste tog og rejser, underkaste sig de utroligste farer og kampe, for så altid at bære sejren hjem og sejrns udbytte. Altid ender disse sagaer i den herligste fryd og gammen med et eller flere brylluper."

Helpers, corresponding to the duke in our saga, are essential to the action of the *Bratwerbungsgeschichten*. See L. Mackensen, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1930), pp. 316 ff.; E. Rösch, *Der getreue Johannes (Folklore Fellows Communications, LXXVII (Helsinki, 1928), 6)*. Cf. footnote 8, below.

⁷ This is the so-called Swayamvara motif; cf. B. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem* (London, 1904), pp. 169 ff.

lygisögur.⁸ But it need not be construed as anything more than maidenly reserve, well in keeping with the traditional character of a princess in these sagas. From the artistic point of view, at all events, this detail heightens the story. The likelihood of a double wedding in this story has been remarked above.⁹ The picture of the courtiers at table, placed at appropriate distances from the seat of honor, is in keeping both with the tradition of the fictional saga and with diplomatic and social precedent. The conventional phraseology of the story patterns that to be found in any *lygisaga* with a similar theme.

Far from being a unique product, the so-called *Quinatus saga ok Porfilu* has thus the aspect of a typical saga of foreign romance, not unlikely put together after 1400, when the convention of the *genre* had become well established. The question very naturally arises: Why is this saga, containing a fairly complete story, so short? For the extent of text, from the introduction of the principal characters to the holding of the wedding feast, is but a fraction of the space required for development of the theme in most saga versions of the Winning of the Bride. In a word, the "retarding action" is absent. Three alternative possibilities suggest themselves: (1) This *is* in fact a short saga; or (2) it is a highly condensed version of a longer saga; or (3) it consti-

⁸ The haughty damsel who repulses suitors appears in the fairy tale of King Thrushbeard; cf. J. Bolte and G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, neubearbeitet*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1937), No. 52, pp. 443-449; E. A. Philippon, *Der Märchentypus von König Drosselbart (Folklore Fellows Communications, L [Greifswald, 1923])*. Philippon mentions only one of the many *lygisögur* dealing with this theme. See further Schlauch, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94; Lagerholm, *op. cit.*, p. 98. The best known Icelandic version is the saga (mentioned by Philippon) about King Clárús and Princess Serena; cf. Ceder-schiöld (ed.), *Clari-Saga (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, XII [Halle, 1907])*, text, commentary, and notes. See further H. Gering, *Íslenskt Æventýri*, Vols. I-II, (Halle, 1882-1883), Vol. II, xxii ff., pp. 165-169.

⁹ References to double marriages are found in *FAS*, Vol. III, pp. 232 f., 403, 658-660; to triple marriages, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f., 359, 452, 517, 554, 590. Similar multiple weddings occur in the *lygisögur*, as in *Viktors saga ok Bláus*, *Sigrgarðar saga þögla*, *Núða saga hinnar frægu*, and *Sigrgarðar saga frækna*, according to the excerpts I have made from photostats of the MSS. Cf. A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie*, Vol. I (København, 1892), pp. 46 ff. See also the quotation in footnote 6, above.

tutes merely the introduction to a longer saga. We may dismiss the first two suggestions at once, for the story becomes virtually pointless if there be no more to it than an uneventful wooing with the colorless "happily ever after" formula to cap the climax. The third interpretation is probable on the face of it; furthermore, it accords perfectly with what we know of *lygisögur* in general.¹⁰ The story contained in this MS is doubtless the prelude to a longer saga of adventure, now unfortunately lost, dealing with the career of King Sigurðr. The details of these adventures one can only vaguely surmise, and the names and callings of his helpers and associates we cannot guess beyond assuming that they will be princes, dukes, and noble champions on the one hand, and magicians of either sex on the other. Magic weapons, wonderful rings, "nature stones," perhaps a magic carpet, and considerable shape-changing are the *minima essentia* of a saga like ours, and great odds will be brought against the doughty Sigurðr, but he is certain to prevail over *blámenn* and trolls and, great in fame, settle down in the end as a model king and husband. We may assume that father-in-law Quinatus plays a very subordinate rôle in the story, if indeed he is even mentioned.¹¹ We are clearly not dealing with a saga about King Quinatus at all, and Mogk's makeshift title—together with Gödel's description of the saga as a story "om en konung Quinatus och hans dotter Porfila"—is misleading.

¹⁰ For comment on the length of the saga, see footnote 2, above. For discussion of the hero's typical adventures cf. Schlauch, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

¹¹ We should not be likely to find more than a single reference to Quinatus, namely, when at his death the throne passed to a successor, or if he were to make over the rule of the kingdom during his lifetime to his son-in-law (in our saga, to Florida's spouse?). In the *lygisögur*, kingdoms are handed on to sons, sons-in-law, and even daughters, when the old king begins to feel his years; thus, Gibbon, in the saga of that name, turns over the rule of France to his son Eskupart, having reached the ripe old age of thirty or so! Literary tradition apart, the detail may reflect real-life practice among the farmers of Iceland (and elsewhere) down to the present; the family sagas abound in such references.

Foreign, often Latin, names are frequent in the late fictional sagas; thus, of the four names appearing in the fragment here studied, three are Latin in form, and the very locale, it is to be remembered, is Greece. On the Latin names of emperors and others, cf. Gering, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.; see further Schlauch's chapter (*op. cit.*) on "Latin Learning," pp. 42-55.

More than once we hear of a saga by name only, most or all of the story having been lost. In the present case, the contents of the saga appear reasonably certain, and only the name is at fault. Since every version of a given story sheds light on our understanding of literature, it is important that the versions be identified by suitable titles. And as the scribe failed to add a title to this version of the Winning of the Bride, the modern investigator must choose a title for him, preferably one the scribe himself would have employed. I therefore suggest that the fragment we have discussed be interpreted in future notices as *Sigurðar saga ok Porfilu*.¹²

¹² The MS possesses added interest because of the four drawings with which it is embellished, though these bear no discoverable relation to the text. The drawings, of approximately equal size, are arranged in the bottom margins so that each of the four columns of text is supported by a figure. The first, second, and fourth items are facing left; the orientation of the third is less certain. The drawings represent a grasshopper, a dog, a serpent or possibly a crustacean, and a sort of sphinx.

The grasshopper (*Melanoplus spretus*) is shown larger than life size. Its right posterior leg is bent back above the body in a lifelike manner. No legs are identifiable on the left side. The wings cannot be distinguished with certainty, but probably they are folded back along the body. The mandibles are unmistakable, and the insect is resting upon and eating from a leaf or twig. What makes this grasshopper convincing is that it has clearly delineated ovipositors, which identify it unquestionably as a female! There can be no doubt that the artist had seen a real grasshopper, and almost certainly, a live one. The question remains: Where and how? According to the eminent Icelandic authority Þorvaldur Thoroddsen, there are no grasshoppers in Iceland: "Skinnvængjuð skórdýr (*orthoptera*), engisprettur og þesskonar vantar alveg" (*Lýsing Íslands*, Vol. II [Kaupmannahöfn, 1911], p. 576). The very few species of insects found in Iceland (Thoroddsen indicates a possible 500 as compared with more than 10,000 for Denmark) are similar to those found in Lapland, Greenland, and Labrador. The coolness and moisture during the summer, coupled with the lack of requisite vegetation, are the responsible factors, according to Thoroddsen (cf. the section "Hín lægri dýr," pp. 574 ff.). It is, furthermore, hardly conceivable that grasshoppers were known in Iceland in 1500. C. E. P. Brooks (*Climate through the Ages* [London, 1926]) summarizes the evidence showing a progressive deterioration of the Icelandic climate after the year 1000, culminating in a glacial maximum during the first half of the 14th century. This was succeeded by a gradual increase in warmth and then by a colder period, this latter during the 16th and 17th centuries (Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 341 ff., and *passim*). Our MS dates from approximately 1500, according to Gödel; any grasshoppers seen in Iceland at that time were obviously transient visitors. The scribe who tampered with the grasshopper

may have seen such insects previously, while travelling. It is more likely that the grasshopper came to Iceland as a stowaway on a ship, perhaps with a cargo of grain from abroad. In any case, a grasshopper would be a sufficient rarity to warrant its association with a sphinx in the margins of an Icelandic parchment.

The second figure, a sphinx of sorts, consists of the head of a man joined to the slender, curved body of a dachshund-like creature, presumably a lion. It wears a collar and has a long, apparently prehensile tail, curving forward over the body and extending down almost to the forepaws. The third drawing, partially obliterated, depicts either a crustacean with fanciful additions in the form of scales and spines, or some sort of serpent or mythological beast. There is a long, coiled, and scaly body, together with what may be taken for a head, facing right. The 'head' is compellingly like the claw of a crayfish or lobster, serrated and made in two parts. This creature must remain without a name. The fourth illustration will pass for a domestic canine wearing a collar and holding a large bone in its mouth. The body is slender and curved like that in the second figure, while the tail is held in the same position and is even longer than that of the sphinx.

None of the four drawings resembles anything reproduced in facsimile by H. Hermannsson in *The Icelandic Physiologus* (*Islandica*, Vol. XXVII, 1938).

INFINITIVE FOR IMPERATIVE IN SWEDISH

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IT IS the thought of many of our readers, no doubt, that the infinitive may in Swedish be employed for the imperative only in addressing children.

This opinion accords with a statement by Natanael Beckman,¹ who says:

I barnkammarspråk kan infinitiven användas som ett mildare uttryck än imperativen, särskilt i nekande satser (förbud). *Inte gråta! Inte narras! Bara se, men inte röra!*

And likewise with one by Gideon Danell:²

I tilltal till barn händer, att uppmaningen uttryckes genom verbets infinitiv.
Ex. *Inte göra så!*

D. A. Sundén³ differs from both these grammarians in not imposing any limitation with reference to the persons thus addressed:

Presens indikativ l. en infinitiv (vid förmaningar) brukas ock stundom i s. f. imperativen, t. e. *Du går och sätter dig genast (= gå och sätt dig)! Så gick vi då! Inte göra så! Aldrig narras mera. . .*

But Adolf Noreen⁴ writes, correctly:

Vidare brukas ej sällan indikativ . . . eller ock s. k. infinitiv verbalform, detta mest till barn och företrädesvis i prohibitiv användning, t. e. *sova snällt nu!, inte göra så!, aldrig narras mera!*

There shall be cited here a few examples from belletristic prose in which the infinitive is used for the imperative when grown persons are addressed. *DAMEN* (*vill lägga sin arm om hans hals*).

¹ *Svensk språklära*⁸ (Stockholm, 1935), §125, 3.

² *Svensk språklära*⁸ (Stockholm, 1932), p. 117.

³ *Svensk språklära i sammandrag*²⁰ (Stockholm, 1937), §254, Anm. 3. The absence of limitation of the persons addressed in the citation from Sundén does not of necessity mean that, merely going less into details, he agrees with Noreen (see just below). It is just as possible that he is in accord with Beckman and Danell. It will be noted that both Danell and Sundén fail to mention the fact that the use of the negative infinitive is here much more common than is that of the affirmative.

⁴ *Vårt språk*, Vol. V (Lund, 1904), p. 116.

DEN OKÄNDE (slår henne sakt på fingrarna). *Inte röra! När dina ord och blickar icke längre mäktade, så skulle du alltid vidröra! Förlåt en något banal fråga: är du hungrig?*⁶ *FRU HEYST* reser sig; uppskakad. *Den dag jag föddes må vara förgäten! KRISTINA* *Icke banna!*⁶ *Tala klokt, min fru! Inte säga barnsligheter till en man, som. . .*⁷ *Bo* [Proper name], *inte vara allvarlig nu!*⁸ *Inte titta på klockan!*⁹ The following passage exemplifies both the negative and the affirmative infinitive: *ALICE. Bra! Icke uppge fästningen! Utan spränga den och honom i luften, om vi så skola följa med! Jag har hand om krutet!*¹⁰ And our final example illustrates the affirmative infinitive alone: *Längst ner på sidan satte han en stjärna, som älskande bruka, och därbredvid skrev han—alldeles som fördom—"Kysa där!"*¹¹

⁶ August Strindberg, *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*. Första serien. Roman-tiska dramer, 3 (Stockholm, 1904), p. 249.

⁶ August Strindberg, *Påsk*. Bonnier's College Series of Swedish Text-Books, Vol. IV, Ed. Joseph E. A. Alexis (Stockholm, 1921), p. 60.

⁷ Hjalmar Bergman, *Loewenhistorier* (Stockholm, 1913), p. 219.

⁸ Gustav Hellström, *Kring en kvinna* (Stockholm, 1914), p. 252.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

¹⁰ August Strindberg, *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*. Första serien. Roman-tiska dramer, 4 (Stockholm, 1904), p. 59. All employment of the infinitive for the imperative pertains to the popular styles (for the meaning of this term, see the article "The Swedish Styles and Their Names," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. XV [1938], pp. 1-11). Since *icke* does not belong to these levels of style (as does *inte*), the use of *icke* with the imperatival infinitive in two of the examples from Strindberg results in style mixture. The same author's *Inte röra! När dina ord och blickar icke längre mäktade, så . . .* illustrates stylistic variation (for this, see the article "A Study in Selma Lagerlöf's Style," *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, Vol. I [1912], pp. 38-44). These two items are representative of Strindberg's method of handling the speech of the characters in his dramas (see *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. XV [1938], pp. 33-41, especially p. 38).

¹¹ August Strindberg, *Giftas*, Vol. II⁹ (Stockholm, 1910), p. 25.

REVIEW

The Library of Congress. Report on the Scandinavian Collection.

By Sigmund Skard. Washington, D. C., 1944. 96 leaves (Processed).

In *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 15 (1939), pp. 217-238, William H. Carlson published an interesting survey of Scandinavian collections in the United States. This survey contained a two-page account of the Scandinavian Collection in the Library of Congress, from which it appears that in 1938 the Library of Congress contained at least 20,000 volumes of Scandinaviana. Naturally, in such a brief sketch Mr. Carlson could neither go into detail nor attempt to evaluate the collection. It is fortunate, therefore, that Mr. Carlson's admirable pioneer efforts have now been supplemented by a comprehensive report on the Scandinavian Collection in the Library of Congress prepared by Sigmund Skard, a Norwegian historian of distinction, who served in the Library of Congress as Consultant in Scandinavian culture from 1941 to 1943.

The purpose of Mr. Skard's report is two-fold: to evaluate the present collection and to contribute to the formulation of a future purchasing policy for the Library of Congress. From the beginning it was decided to limit the scope of the study to publications dealing with the culture of Scandinavia, with special emphasis on its historical aspects, excluding Scandinavian contributions to international research in the sciences and the humanities.

Although a comprehensive survey of the Library's holdings comprising all the Scandinavian countries had originally been planned, lack of time made it impossible to survey all holdings equally minutely. Efforts were consequently concentrated on examining the Norwegian holdings in detail, while the materials pertaining to the other countries were merely made subject to sample testing. The method employed in making the survey was to check the holdings of the Library of Congress against a "Basic Bibliography" of important Scandinavian publications prepared for the purpose by Mr. Skard.

The Norwegian part of the "Basic Bibliography" included

approximately 10,600 titles (of which 8,300 represented works of research, and 2,300 belles-lettres and periodicals) compiled from more than 50 special and several general bibliographies. The non-Norwegian part of the "Basic Bibliography" included 1,488 titles. A considerable number of additional titles, listed on cards, circumstances did not permit to include in the bibliography. The books in the "Basic Bibliography" were graded according to importance, four grades, A-D, being used. Grade *A* represented reference and standard works, *B* more specialized works for research, *C* recommendable books of less importance than Grade *A* and *B* books, *D* worthwhile books that need not be purchased systematically.

The checking showed that the Library of Congress has approximately 38 per cent of the 8,300 titles included in the "research section" of the Norwegian part of the "Basic Bibliography," distributed as follows, by percentages:

Grade A	60
Grade B	49
Grade C	37
Grade D	11

Mr. Skard points out that the smallest percentages appear in the least important classes and stresses the fact that of the "must" books in groups A and B the Library of Congress has as much as 60 and 49 per cent, respectively. These figures demonstrate the significance of the collection.

In order to make it possible to ascertain at a glance the relative strength within the various subjects represented in the Norwegian Collection, the Norwegian bibliography was divided into 22 main groups, further broken down into about 140 subdivisions. The resulting tabulation shows that in the following twelve subjects the holdings of the Library of Congress constitute more than 50 per cent of the titles listed in the "Basic Bibliography" under Grades A and B. The figures represent percentages.

Science (Historical)	82
Law	79
Old Norse literature	72
Pre-history	68
Bibliography	63

History	60
Biography	60
General works	58
Literary history	57
Military history	52
Language	51
Geography	51

The subject most poorly represented is Education, for which the percentage is only 22. It should be noted that modern belles-lettres and periodicals were not included in the statistical breakdown. These two groups were separately examined. Mr. Skard found that "the section on Norwegian belles-lettres, in spite of its somewhat peculiar character [chiefly because it consists in part of copyright deposits], is a real collection and a foundation on which to build." The periodical collection, in his opinion, is slightly weaker than, although in composition not essentially different from, the Norwegian collection as a whole.

The other Scandinavian collections, with the exception of the Swedish-Finnish one, were found, on the basis of the sample testing, to be approximately on the same level as the Norwegian. Thus the Danish Collection contains 53 per cent of the A-B books in the "Basic Bibliography," the Icelandic 55 per cent, the Swedish 48 per cent, while for the Swedish-Finnish Collection the percentage goes down to 30. The percentage for the general Scandinavian Collection (that is, materials pertaining to Scandinavia in general) is 72.

Mr. Skard has not only furnished us with useful statistical information but has also commented instructively on particular aspects of the holdings within the various subjects. He cites many specific titles, so that it is possible to get an idea as to his judgment, which, as a rule, strikes the reviewer as being eminently sound. The main fact brought out through Mr. Skard's analysis is that although the Scandinavian Collection in the Library of Congress is obviously uneven and shows many curious omissions as well as inclusions, it is nevertheless a collection of real merit and deserves to be further developed.

Mr. Skard finds that in spite of its apparent planlessness, the Scandinavian Collection has been built up with a definite pur-

pose in mind. Referring specifically to the Norwegian section, he suggests that the Library of Congress has aimed at developing "a collection where all important fields of Norwegian culture can be studied by serious research in original sources." He concludes that in its endeavors to accomplish this aim the Library has followed with fair consistency its "Canons of Selection," in accordance with which the Library shall "accumulate, in original or in copy, full and representative collections of the written records of those societies and peoples whose experience is of most immediate concern to the people of the United States." The reference to the "Canons of Selection" in connection with the acquisition of Scandinavian materials in the past would seem to be an anachronism insofar as the canons were not formulated until 1940, during the MacLeishian regime in the Library of Congress. To the present reviewer, who has in the past been associated with the Library of Congress for more than nine years, it would seem that the special character of the Scandinavian collections is due chiefly to the circumstance that the Library did not continuously provide for systematic upkeep of the collections, but that when occasionally experts were consulted, they showed high standards of judgment in spite of the lack of a general policy.

As to the future, scholars concerned with Scandinavian studies will be interested to learn what will be the final policy of the Library of Congress as regards its Scandinavian collections. Mr. Skard's report furnishes an excellent basis for the selection of fields for further development, and his Basic Bibliography constitutes a very useful buying list. Mr. Skard suggests that an amount of \$5,000 would go far toward bringing the essential portion of the Norwegian book collection up to high standards, and that an annual allotment of \$400 might keep it up-to-date. Similar amounts, if not larger ones, would presumably be needed to take care of the development of the collections pertaining to the other Scandinavian countries.

Considering all the obligations of the Library of Congress, one may well question whether it will be possible for it to develop the Scandinavian collections to such an extent that they will provide the materials necessary for the study of all important

fields of Scandinavian culture in the original sources. It would seem that Law, Economics, Political and Social History, and Bibliography would be the fields in which the Library of Congress would be pre-eminently interested. Perhaps extensive collecting in some of the other fields, notably Scandinavian philology and literature, could more effectively be cultivated by some of the universities offering systematic courses in the Scandinavian languages and literatures.

Additional data for the solution of this problem would have been furnished had it been possible for Mr. Skard to complete his ambitious plan to check his "Basic Bibliography" against the Scandinavian Union Catalog of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Scandinavian items in the Union Catalog in the Library of Congress. We would then have known where the most logical centers for further development of special collections are to be found. Lack of time prevented the realization of this plan; Mr. Skard suggests that as a compromise measure his "Basic Bibliography" on cards be put at the disposal of libraries owning sizable Scandinavian collections. It would, of course, be preferable if the Library of Congress, possibly in co-operation with the American-Scandinavian Foundation, could see its way to publish Mr. Skard's "Basic Bibliography"—perhaps in processed form—with the non-Norwegian section extended, so as to furnish us with a lasting bibliographical tool. It cannot be doubted that the "Basic Bibliography," judiciously applied, would help immeasurably to rationalize the acquisition of Scandinavian materials and to raise the standards of individual Scandinavian collections in this country, thereby contributing greatly to the promotion of Scandinavian studies in the United States.

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